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ABORIGINAL FORMOSA A PART OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE ?

AN UNBIASSED STATEMENT OF THE
QUESTION,

WITH

EIGHT MAPS OF FORMOSA.



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1874.

INTRODUCTORY.

In the *Hui Pao*, of the 18th of July last, appeared a violent diatribe against the late action of Japan in Formosa. This paper, a translation of which we give hereunder, being very apt to mislead the public mind, both native and foreign, it has been thought necessary to present a dispassionate statement of the Formosan question. We have endeavoured to do so in the following pages :—

THE JAPANESE IN FORMOSA.

[*From the "Hui Pao" of 18th July 1874.*]

THE affair of the Japanese and savages has been discussed in many different lights. Of late we have had little news, and the Memorial which SHÊN, Fu-t'ai, Imperial Commissioner, etc., recently addressed to the Throne and forwarded to Tientsin by the *Fei-yün*, being a communication to the EMPEROR direct, is not known to the people at large; but as to the question of war or peace, the Imperial decision on that point will doubtless be correct.

In my opinion, the Japanese have behaved very badly. It is written in *Chuan** that a good cause gives strength in war, and a bad cause takes it away. Now is not the Japanese cause a bad one, and will it not consequently deprive them of their strength? For at the outset they said their object was to avenge the slaughter of Japanese subjects by the savages, having previously laid the matter before the Tsung-li Yamén and met with refusal from that body to take up the matter. I hold that these words are false. Had such a complaint been laid, and had such an answer been given, verily right would have been on their side, and proclaiming it to the world they would have held up to censure a nation superior† to their own. Why act with guile and treachery,

* The Commentaries on CONFUCIUS' great work, *Spring and Autumn*.

† In the text 上國

II

bursting forth when no one was expecting in it all the array of war? Now, too, that they have defeated the savages and accomplished their purpose, the stronger of the savages having sought safety in their mountain fastnesses, and the weaker having submitted to their victors, why do not these Japanese retire? Not only do they not do that, but they are building on all sides and declare their intention of remaining where they are. Is this good behaviour?

Great heat is apt to produce sickness, and is unfavorable for a military campaign. The Japanese, however, regardless of expense, have engaged the services of a German physician to attend on the troops in Formosa, at whose suggestion I do not know, but evidently with the design of making a protracted stay. On their arrival, our officials at once ordered[†] them to retire, and subsequently SHEN, Fu-t'ai, and P'AN, a Commissioner of Finance, were sent to look into the matter; but the Japanese not seeing any troops arrive, mistook delay for fear, and began to disregard China altogether, behaving themselves in an outrageous manner as is well known to all the world. I can explain this only in one of three ways:—(1) either they think that the possession of iron-clad vessels makes China no match for Japan, or (2) their raid upon the savages was a pretext by means of which they might get possession of Formosa, or (3) they imagined that they would be able to extort from China the expense of the expedition as the price of their retirement from the Island. They must have been actuated by one or other of the above motives. As to the first, however, they don't know that an iron-clad is useful in the deep water but not in shoal water, for naval but not for land engagements, and is therefore of little advantage in such a case as the present. It might be of temporary use as long as we were unprepared, but now that our army is already massed, can it be supposed that a single inch of Formosa is in danger? As to the expense of the expedition, it is unreasonable to expect China to contribute to the aggressions of Japan; and if victory is with the former, is it likely she would of her own accord come forward with the money? Their presumptions are absurd, and what they base this arrogance upon, I really cannot tell. I imagine on nothing.

Four years ago when war broke out between Prussia and France, French-

[†] In the text of 傳諭令退一, language expressing the commands of a superior to an inferior.

III

men were bragging away about their certain victory, limiting their success only to the capture of Berlin and the subjection of the German nation ; but the tables were turned, and the Germans surrounded Paris, so that when provisions were exhausted capitulation followed. Had Frenchmen been able to estimate correctly their strength, they would have behaved with more modesty. If a madman butts his head against a stone wall, the poor fellow does not know in his excitement that the wall suffers nothing but only he himself gets a broken pate. Imagine a tame lion disturbed during his peaceful slumbers by a snapping cur. The dog may be brave enough, but could he stand one roar from the lion ? Besides, wealth is strength, as I argued in a previous essay ; for with money you can buy the best munitions of war and get the best soldiers together. England has no more than seventy thousand soldiers under arms—not more than other nations ; but all fear her, for they fear her wealth. If then it is money which can secure good arms and brave men, where, I would ask, is Japan as compared with China ? She has not half China's resources, and to come into the field against her, Japan would find it necessary to devote her entire revenue to the war—a sacrifice which would somewhat interfere with the internal administration of that country. Then once down, how could she raise herself again ? China's desire is merely to get the Japanese out of Formosa, and if in the hour of victory China should follow the vanquished into their own country, reduce the inhabitants, seize arms and appoint officers to administer affairs—why, she would only be doing much what Prussia did to France.

It is all very well for the Japanese to say that the savages are beyond the influence of our Government and pay no taxes, and that therefore the matter does not concern China ; I say that in a rich establishment where everything is of the best, there must still be many things of little intrinsic value which, however, the lord of the house does not necessarily resign to thieves and robbers. Again, the owner of land, part of which is rich and the rest stony and unprofitable, does not cede his rights as owner of the latter to any one who likes to take possession, even though he may not care to till it himself. The savages in Formosa are in every respect similar to Indians in America ; although not governed by officials of the nation, to which they belong, inasmuch as they are

within the territory of such nation, it is not for a foreign Power to interfere without authority. Have the Japanese never heard of this ? Considering their chances of success, our invaders must be fools to talk of exacting an indemnity. Has China sunk to this depth of folly—to feed the hungry tigre she has got safely snared in her toils ? Is she going to pay them money which would be better employed in their extermination ? Three thousand men only—the work of a few days ! To indemnify the Japanese would be putting a premium on such behaviour, just as when a householder gets rid of a troublesome beggar by giving him money, the beggar is sure to turn up again next day ; whereas, if he gets hard words and a whip across his shoulders, he skulks away and says nothing. So those who estimate themselves too highly will assuredly be made to smart for it.

SHANGHAI, *August 1874.*

IS ABORIGINAL FORMOSA A PART OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE ?

IN the despatch from the Tsung-li Yamén to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan, dated the 26th day of the 3rd moon, of the 18th year of Tung-chi (11th May 1874,) we read :—“Formosa is an Island lying far off amidst the sea, and we have never yet restrained the savages living there by any legislation, nor have we established any government over them; following in this a maxim mentioned in the Kei-ki: ‘Do not change the usages of a people, but allow them to keep their good ones.’ But the territories inhabited by these savages are truly within the jurisdiction of China; and this is also the case with several savage tribes inhabiting other remote provinces within the jurisdiction of China, and whom China permits to retain their own good customs.” In other words, the Tsung-li Yamén assimilates the condition of the aborigines of Formosa to that of the Indians of North America.

Now we do not think that there is the slightest similarity between the two cases. The Indians of America live a wandering sort of life in a country which has but a few settlements of white colonists scattered over it, and which belongs to several powers—England and the United States at the North and Mexico and the United States at the South. The inconveniences resulting from the depredations of the Indians are equally shared by the states that border each other, and are the result of a condition of affairs which is fatal, and which it is the interest of each state to bear in silence. With the Formosans it is different: they are placed between China and a maritime roadstead which is common to the whole world. The damages inflicted by them upon the colonists of China are more than compensated for by many advantages, both political and commercial, while the depredations they commit on the commerce of the world are not compensated for by any advantages whatever, either immediate or eventual.

The Formo-
san Aborigines
and the Amer-
ican Indians.

Neither is the title of China to Aboriginal Formosa to be compared with that of the United States to the Indian wilds. The original title to the wild lands of America was acquired by the French, the Spaniards, or the British against all other European governments, by discovery or by conquest, and it was consummated by possession through a long series of years; their justification for the act being that they would do all they could (although they often failed,) to make compensation to the Indians by bestowing civilization upon them in exchange for their limited independence. China cannot boast of having done anything of the kind in Formosa.

China derives no right to Aboriginal Formosa because of its alleged discovery by her in 1436 (1st year of SING-TSUNG, of the Ming Dynasty.)

China derives no right to the Island because of its discovery by her, as she claims, in 1436, for this relates only to the Pescadores and the Middle Western Coast, and was not followed up by immediate occupation. Sovereignty over territory that belongs to no state is acquired by the taking possession of it by some state. The simple intention to take possession, or the symbolical or formal indication given that it is the intention to take possession, or even a provisory occupation is insufficient; for the mere discovery is only an act of science or daring, and not of politics. The taking possession consists in politically organizing the country recently discovered, added to the intention to exercise authority over it in the future. The fact of planting a flag or other emblem on a coast newly discovered may serve as an indication of the intention to take possession thereof, but it could not be considered as an equivalent for truly constituted authority.

When in 1436, the Chinese discovered the Pescadores and the West Coast of Taiwan, Discovery of they did not take possession of either. In fact what did take place was this: A Chi-

Taiwan.
nese grandee named WAN-SAN-PAU was cast, in a storm, on a small island, which has since been united to a larger island lying to the eastward of it, by an earthquake, and which he called Taiwan, or "Terrace Beach." It was situated about three miles north-west of the spot where Saccam, afterwards Taiwan-foo, was built,(a) and exactly where the small village of Anping and the old Dutch Fort Zelandia, which are marked on all charts, now stand.(b) The larger island, which was afterwards named Formosa, from the name given to their colony of Kelung at the beginning of the 17th century or the end of the 16th by the Portuguese [see Map Histoire Generale des Voyages, etc., La Haye, MDCCXLIX, Tome 7, page 74] (c) and Taiwan

(a) See Plate I.

(b) See Plate II.

(c) See Plate III.

by the Chinese from the name given to the small island discovered by WAN-SAN-PAU, was called by mariners Pak-kanda, probably its native name. WAN-SAN-PAU remained some time at Taiwan to gain information concerning the country and its inhabitants, and then returned to China. In 1564 (42nd year of SHE-TSUNG, Ming Dynasty) another Chinaman, named YU-TA-YUEN, who was cruizing with his squadron in the China sea, being suddenly attacked by a daring pirate named LIU-TAN-HIEN, was compelled, after a fight that lasted five hours, to take refuge first at Pong-hou and then in Taiwan. But the fear of not finding safety on a coast with which he was not acquainted made him return to Pong-hou, where he left a garrison. In about the year 1620 (1st year of Kwang-tsung, Ming Dynasty), a Dutch vessel was cast in a storm on the coast of Formosa, near the islet of Taiwan, and found the Japanese established there. The port formed by the islet and Pak-kanda appeared so commodious to the captain that he asked permission of the Japanese to build a house on the islet, at the entrance of the harbour, on the pretext that it would be of use to the Dutch in their trade with Japan; and as he promised to take no more land than could be surrounded by a cow's hide, the Japanese consented. The work was commenced at once, and the Dutch, using the same stratagem as that resorted to by the Phœnicians when they obtained permission to build Pyrsa, cut the hide into thin strips, joined them together and encircled with it a piece of land large enough to build a fort on. (d) In 1630 (2nd year of Hwae-tsung, Ming Dynasty) this fort was rebuilt of brick. As for the Japanese, owing to a change in their politics whereby their relations with the outside world were to cease, and, with them, all distant expeditions, they gave up their design of conquering the country. In 1634 (6th year of Hwae-tsung) the Dutch increased their establishment at Taiwan [see *Histoire Generale des Voyages*, Tome VII., page 175;] but, subsequently, becoming mixed up in the political complications that arose between the Tartars and the Chinese patriot, Koxinga, they, unfortunately for themselves, inclined for the former. But being deserted by them and left to fight their quarrel alone with Koxinga, they were attacked by him, beaten and, after losing one after the other of their establishments from Kelung, the northernmost one, to Tie-ta-yan the southernmost, they were finally driven from their stronghold, Fort Zelandia, in 1662 (1st year

Arrival of
the Dutch in
Formosa. They
find the Japanese
there.

The Dutch
expelled by the
patriot Koxin-
ga.

(d) Father DE MAILLA, S. J. *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, etc., Tome Dixieme, à Lyon, MDCCXIX, page 272.

of KANG-HI, Ta-tsing Dynasty,) and returned to Batavia. [Vide Relation de la Prise de l'Isle de Formosa par les Chinois, le cinquiesme Juillet, 1666, Traduite de l' Holl-

The Treaty landois, pages 30 and 40, a Paris, MDCLXIII.] The Treaty of surrender was drawn of surrender.

up in eighteen articles, and related only to the transfer of the fort, the exchange of prisoners, and other minor matters. [See t' Verwaarloosde Formosa, etc., Amsterdam, 1675.] KOXINGA's reign was a short one. His son, who succeeded him, remained in quiet possession of the throne up to his death. In 1682 (19th year of KANG-HI,) however, the Tartars, having firmly established their supremacy over China, resolved to extend it to Formosa. CHIN-KE-SAN, a grandson of KOXINGA, was then on the throne. He possessed none of the qualities and talents of his grandfather; and even before the

Annexation Tartar army had reached his shores, he submitted to them, and was sent to Peking, of the kingdom of Formosa to the Chinese while his Kingdom from that time, 1683 (30th year of KANG-HI,) has been a dependency Crown. The portion of the island that it of the Chinese Crown. The territory thus surrendered to China had for its limits Ke-covered.

lung to the north, and a place called Sha-ma-wuh, or Cha-ma-ki-teou to the south. (e) It was bounded to the east by the high chain of mountains that stretches from Pong-lee to Sau-o Bay; but it did not extend so far as Sau-o Bay(f), and stopped at Kelung. The portion from Kelung to Sau-o Bay has only been annexed of late years (1812, 16th year of KEA-KING, Ta-tsing Dynasty.) [See Report of the Commissioner of Customs for the Port of Kelung, 31st January 1869. Published by order of the Imperial Government.]

Map of the annexed country made by order of the Emperor KANG-HI (70th year of KANG-HI) by order of the Emperor KANG-HI (See Nouvel Atlas de la Chine, etc. HI.

La Haye, MDCCXXXVII, Plate 6)(g) were doubtless well acquainted with the Dutch charts of the Island, in which the whole line of coast, comprising both foreign and Aboriginal Formosa, was given(h) but probably they had orders not to comprise the coasts of Aboriginal Formosa in their survey of the country that belonged to the

Map of the Middle Kingdom, for it is left out on their maps. The map of CHANG-SUE-KING, (i)

(e) See Plate IV.

(f) See Plate II.

(g) See Plate IV.

(h) See Plates III. & V.

(i) 嘉慶十一年分宜張宗京摹錄.
直隸各省興地全圖 KEA-KING, 11th year, Feu-nie Chang-sue-king's Maps of Chili and of every province of the Chinese Empire.

Mr. WILLIAMS, in his "Middle Kingdom," New York Edition, 1861, Vol. 1, page 117 says:—
"The limits of the Chinese jurisdiction on Formosa according to native maps, extend over half the island, reaching no further East than the Muh-kan-shan, a ridge of mountains running through the middle of the Island."

made in the 12th year of KEA-KING (1807) evidently traced from the surveys of the Jesuits, offers the same peculiarity, and so do the latest official maps of the Chinese colonies in Formosa which are to be found in the Taiwan-tzu, (j) a history and description of these colonies circulated under the Imperial patronage to promote emigration thereto.(k) An idea of the aboriginal portion of the Island which is left out on the Taiwan-tzu map of these colonies, is given in another map in the same work, by a strange picture of the sun rising from the boiling waters of the Eastern Ocean,(l) in the vicinity of a mass of rocks, piled one upon the other and supposed to represent the land. On this picture there is nothing that can be taken to show the connection that exists between this wild and the Chinese possessions, not even a sign from which one may judge where the place may be. For all the reader may know, it may be twenty miles away from Muhi-kan-shan, and it may be two hundred. All that is certain is that it is outside of the Empire, and, therefore, no books that gave a comprehensive idea of it would receive the approval of the Board of Rites. When the Chinese speak of that portion of the island they say : "It is not in the maps,"(m) an expression which, to make it intelligible to most readers, Chinese translators have rendered : "It is not obedient "to our laws." They had better have said : "It is unknown to us."

When there is no indication of any knowledge of a place, there surely can be no discovery. In this case, it cannot be held that there is either. The sole inference to be taken from the Chinese maps is that their possessions in Formosa end at the chain of mountains to which we have alluded above. Outside that chain the *terra incognita* is clearly indicated by the absence on their maps of both coast and water.(n) It is simply white paper. In such a case, how shall we, who know that beyond the Muhi-kan-shan there is a region called Aboriginal Formosa, determine the frontier line between the two countries, the Chinese and the Aboriginal ?

In the absence of clearly defined frontiers, BLUNTSCHLI says (§297):—"When two

(j) 繼脩臺灣府志 Continued and corrected History of Taiwan-foo.

(k) See Plate VII.

(l) See Plate VIII.

(m) This is stated in a despatch from the General and Toutai of Formosa to the U.S. Consul at Amoy, dated June 1867. It reads thus: 相帮 to assist, 以 and, 副 aid, 我 our, 朝 Empire (of) 中 China (and) 外 Foreigners (keeping) 和好 friendly 至意 intimate intercourse; 無如 nothing better. 該 (But) that 處 place (that part of Aboriginal Formosa now occupied by the Japanese troops,) 未 ut 既 yet 收 entered 入 in 版 圖 Maps of China.

(n) See Plate VII.

"countries are separated by a chain of mountains, it is admitted, when in doubt, that
 "the highest edge and the lines of division of the waters form the limit. Chains of
 "mountains often serve to divide nations. * * * * * Nations under-
 "stood this early, and made of mountains their natural frontier."

In this case we do not need to go to the summit of the Muh-kan-shan to find the frontier, the Chinese, ever since the conquest of Chinese Formosa by KOXINGA having been unable to go further than the lower ranges of hills that form the base of Muh-kan-shan; and to protect themselves against surprises and ambuscades, the aborigines have cut down all the trees from the base of that range for a short distance towards the summit, the land thus cleared being looked upon by both parties as a sort of neutral ground where they meet to carry on their trading operations with each other. This neutral ground is the frontier line; and any one who dares to cross it without permission is shot down. (o) During his trip from north to south of the Island, from December 1869 to March 1870, the U. S. Consul for Amoy marked that line on the chart of Formosa made by Commander BROOKER in 1867, deriving his information partly from the Chinese of the plains and partly from personal observation; and we have every reason to believe that it is correct. [See U.S. Commercial Relations, 1869, page 108.] (p).

China derives no right to Aboriginal Formosa from the conquest made by KOXINGA in 1662.

Having shown that the Chinese do not derive any right to Aboriginal Formosa from discovery, we will now proceed to prove that they derive none from conquest.

KOXINGA was not long in realizing the importance of extending his possessions in Formosa from coast to coast. To this end, after the signing of the Treaty of 1662, he sent several expeditions to the aboriginal country in the neighbourhood of Yuh-shang,

KOXINGA's or Jade Stone Mountain, the Mount Morrison of our maps, to take possession of it and expeditions against the aborigines and subdue the inhabitants; but each time he was repulsed with heavy loss, and at last his failure to subjugate them concluded to give up his design. No one has since made any further attempts in that direction.

This resolution to abandon the idea of ever conquering Aboriginal Formosa was dictated, the Chinese say, by a supreme power. "On one of his attempts to penetrate this mountain, KOXINGA fell in with an old grey-headed woman, who begged him to retreat, and presented him with two large pieces of jade as return for the labor he had undergone in proceeding so far. These he accepted, when she bound him to have the finest piece cut into a seal for the Kwan-yin goddess (the Chinese Ceres,) to be

(o) See Notes on the Ethnology of Formosa, by ROBERT SWINHOE, F.G.S., F.Z.S., &c., H.B.M.'s Consul at Taiwan, 1863, page 8.

(p) See Plate II.

"deposited on the shrine of one of her celebrated temples. The other piece he was at liberty to fashion into a girdle-buckle for himself. On his return he neglected the promise he had made, and ordered his own name to be cut on the larger piece. The name was engraved as desired, and the seal brought to him; but on taking it into his hand and looking at the device, the characters transformed themselves under his eyes into the title of the goddess. Enraged, he had the words erased, and his own name once more carved, but the impression again proved subtle. Upon this he grew alarmed, and devoutly presented the seal as an offering to the Cereal shrine. It so happened that the old woman that presented him with the jade was no other than the goddess herself in disguise." [See page 17 of Notes on the Island of Formosa by ROBERT SWINHOE, F.G.S., F.Z.S., &c., H. B. M.'s Consul at Taiwan, read before the British Association at Newcastle, August 1863, and before the Geographical Society.]

But what valor and skill had failed to obtain, the Chinese undertook to accomplish through craft. Not daring to go across the mountains to meet the aborigines, they sent a small vessel to a port on the Eastern coast, where they supposed they could establish settlements. The inhabitants received their deputy well, but intimidated or rendered suspicious by the large number of the party, they gave them no encouragement to remain. The Chinese, seeing that their object was frustrated, then determined to leave. But before sailing, under the pretext of showing their gratitude to their hosts, they gave them a feast. After getting them under the influence of liquor, they fell upon them with their weapons, killing a great number and dispersing the remainder. Then they left, carrying away with them everything they could find.

The intelligence of this proceeding no sooner became known over the Eastern portion of the Island than all the inhabitants took up arms and invaded the Chinese portion, killing as many as they could lay hands on, sparing neither women nor children, and setting their habitations on fire. Since that time the ardor of war has not diminished between the two portions of the Island. [Histoire Generale des Voyages, La Haye, MDCCXLIX., Tome VII., Voyage dans l'Empire de la Chine, page 422; also Father DE MAILLA, the same author who made the map of Southern Formosa under the Emperor KANG-HI.] (g)

(g) Father DE MAILLA, S.J., says:—"Le chef de cette barbare expédition est encore vivant dans Formose, sans que les Chinois aient songé à punir un tel forfait. Néanmoins il ne demeura pas absolument impuni, mais les innocens portèrent la peine que méritoient les coupables. Le bruit

Now-a-days, chiefly to the northward of Taiwan-foo, in order to get at the camphor districts where lie the inexhaustible forests of the precious timber, the inhabitants of the plains sometimes make raids into the aboriginal territory; or else they try to inveigle the inhabitants of the mountains into giving them leases of certain tracts of land lying on the lower western slopes of the Central Range. Knowing that the aborigines are opposed to yielding to their demands for new grants, and that, when in the free use of their faculties, they would invariably refuse to allow any new advance of the existing frontier line, they take advantage of their fondness for ardent spirits, and, under some pretext or other, invite them to a feast and ply them with abundance of liquor. When they are fully under its influence, bright colored cloth is presented to them, a pig is killed, and at the end of the repast the bargain is concluded amid innumerable toasts to eternal friendship. With the first rays of the morning sun the unfortunate aborigines come to their senses, and repent, offering to return the fatal presents by means of which they have been deprived of their beloved retreats. But the cunning Chinese refuse to break the bargain. Hence new fuel for hatred between the two races and severe conflicts which, thus far, however, have not resulted in any advance (except at the north-east) of the frontier line as it existed in 1683.

The right of
sovereignty
over a country
inseparable
from the exer-
cise of sover-
eignty.

Mr. BLUNTSCHLI says [International law, codified, page 165, § 281.] that no state has any right to incorporate more territory, uninhabited or inhabited by barbarians, than she is able to civilize or politically organize. The sovereignty of the state exists only when it is *de facto* exercised. For, the principle of occupation is based solely upon the fact that men are, both by nature and by destiny, called to live in a state of society and to organize themselves as states. But when a nation (as is the case with China in Formosa) extends her so-called sovereignty over immense tracts, uninhabited or occupied by savages, and is utterly unable either to cultivate or to govern them, this state does not promote the object of human kind, but quite the reverse,—she delays the realization of this object by preventing other nations from

No right de- establishing new states in these territories, and organizing them. There is true
rived from temporary or symbolical oc- occupation only when it is real and durable. Temporary or symbolical occupation can
cupation.

"d'une action si cruelle ne se fut pas plutôt répandu dans la partie orientale de l'île, que ces insulaires entrèrent à main armée dans la partie septentrionale qui appartient à la Chine, massacrèrent impitoyablement tout ce qu'ils rencontraient, hommes, femmes, enfants, et mirent le feu à quelques habitations. Depuis ce temps-là, ces deux parties de l'île sont continuellement en guerre. [Lettres édifiantes et curieuses etc., tome dixième, à Lyon, MDCCXIX., pages 256 and 257, also page 254.]

but generate a fictitious right. A state, therefore, does not violate the international law by annexing a country which some other state had only formally taken possession of at an anterior period, and afterwards abandons—or which, having occupied the same only temporarily and symbolically, may be said to have over it no other than imaginary rights. The principle being thus laid down, it remains to be examined whether China, who, as we have seen, has no right to Aboriginal Formosa by reason of discovery or conquest, derives any from formal occupation of it at any time since the annexation of KOXINGA's dominion at the end of the 17th century.

Count de BENYOWSKI, who is quoted by Dr. WILLIAMS in his Middle Kingdom, [Vol. 1, page 118,] visited the East coast of Formosa in 1771, and not only negotiated with the aborigines but even assisted the one tribe against the other in their quarrels, and was almost on the point of founding a settlement there without ever hearing of any authority possessed by the Chinese over the natives.

H. B. M.'s Consul at Taiwan, Mr. SWINHOE, in his trip around Formosa in 1860, found that the state of affairs in Aboriginal Formosa had not changed since BLUNT-SCHLI's time. [See Notes on the Island of Formosa, by ROBERT SWINHOE, F.G.S., F.Z.S., etc.]

We are aware that it is claimed that at a late period (1867) when the Chinese General LEW escorted the U. S. Consul for Amoy to Southern Aboriginal Formosa, he clearly asserted the authority of China over the region in precisely the manner which would constitute formal occupation. This, however, was not the case. It is true that the Chinese officer asserted his authority over the Island in that case, but it was not in a permanent form. In his report to the U. S. Minister at Peking (7th of November, 1867) the U. S. Consul for Amoy says:—“The establishment of a fort had often been the object of a serious controversy between General LEW and myself—not that he would systematically oppose it; he had, on the contrary, acknowledged its advantages to the Chinese; but because of an obscure point in the Viceroy's instructions, he did not feel authorized to erect it before he conferred with the Foochow or Peking authorities. I could scarcely subordinate my departure to such delay, and yet I wanted the fort. I wanted it because of its asserting the Chinese authority where it had been so long denied, for I considered that it would command respect from the

The expedition of 1867 under Chén-tai LEW resulted in temporary occupation only, and therefore the position of China towards Aboriginal Formosa was not changed thereby.

What was done by Chén-tai LEW in 1867.

" Koaluts, in case they happened to lose sight of their promises ; finally, and chiefly, " because it would become a sure refuge for the too numerous victims of these stormy " seas. In short, I insisted and we agreed at last, that a temporary fort should be " erected at a point selected by me, and that in it they would place two guns, a small " force of regulars, and 100 militia. This provisional arrangement was to be converted " into a permanent one as soon as the more explicit orders that I was asked to solicit, " should have reached Taiwan-foo. I declared myself satisfied; for I did not imagine " that the Viceroy would break his word with me ; and should he, I could then appeal " with confidence to the instructions of Your Excellency. I must here render full " justice to the loyalty of the General. In two days he had erected a circular enclo- " sure, formed of trunks of palm trees and sand bags, which I visited in company " with the General, I did not see exactly 100 men in the fort, but I con- " cluded to shut my eyes to this deficiency ; as a compensation, doubtless, there were " three guns, instead of only two, as promised. Over it the Chinese flag waves.

" We were about coming to the conclusion. The General had handed me a spy- " glass and nautical instruments belonging to the *Rover*. I had the body of Mrs. " HUNT. Mr. PICKERING had left to bear to TAU-KE-TOK a red flag I sent him. I had " only to consign to a regular writing with the Chinese authorities the results of the " expedition. These documents established a joint responsibility in this humane duty " between the savages and the Chinese from Liang-kiau Bay to the fort of Tos-su-pong.

" It is the morale of the whole expedition." (r)

The U. S. Consul at Amoy ascertains in 1869 that China has, subsequently to 1867, abandoned the country temporarily occupied by her during that year. So far, so good. But in February 1869, wishing to ascertain if H. I. C. M.'s Government truly intended to give effect to the action of General LEW as related above, the Consul again went to Southern Formosa in company with the interpreter who had gone there with him eighteen months before, and Mr. MAN, a gentleman in the employ of the Chinese Government as Commissioner of Customs for Southern Chinese Formosa. The following is a quotation from that portion of his report to the Minister that relates to the temporary fort built at Tos-su-pong in 1867, by General LEW:—"Before closing this I regret to have to report to Your Excellency that, while the aborigines of Taiwan have kept their faith, the Chinese, from whom we should have expected quite as much if not more, have yet to perfect their part of the agreement.

(r) See U.S. Diplomatic Correspondence, 1867.

" When the case of the *Rover* was compromised, subject to the approval of the Minister " and the Home Office, it was understood between the Chinese officials and myself that " they would recommend to Peking the organization of the district of Liang-kiau under " civil and military rule, and that, if allowed by their Imperial superior, they would " build a fort at Tos-su-pong, thereby meeting the views of the lamented Rear-Admiral " BELL and of your predecessor in office. In May last, Mr. WILLIAMS instructed me " to urge upon the provincial authorities the necessity of complying with the orders " (given in accordance with these views) of their superiors in Peking. I did so, and " received the assurance, first of the Viceroy, and after of the Imperial Commissioner, " that they would satisfy me ; but I soon discovered that I had been deceived. While " in Taiwan-foo, because I was not on the spot to see the thing done, TSENG-TA-YEN did " not even mention the case to the authorities of Taiwan. Now, I find that the " temporary fort built at Tos-su-pong by Chentai LEW, in 1867, has been abandoned. " The two guns in it, and the few soldiers left in charge, have been removed to " Cha-siang ; and all this, so they say, because a third survey of the district has to be " made, and a new reference to Peking is required. Now that the case is again in " Peking, I leave it to Your Excellency's care, and shall await future instructions." (s)

From the foregoing we see that the indication of an intention to take possession of that portion of Aboriginal Formosa that lies south of Pong-lee which had been given by General LEW in 1867, not only was not followed up by occupation, but was actually succeeded by a renunciation of such intention, which is proved by the removal of the guns from the fort at Tos-su-pong,—and thus the argument in support of the opinion that China occupied Aboriginal Formosa in 1867 falls to the ground.

Let us now see whether she has occupied that country at any subsequent period. Additional proof of the abandonment by the Chinese of the country temporarily occupied by them in 1867, as derived from the experience of MR. WARREN, H. B. M. Consular service, in 1871.

On the 28th of July 1871, H. B. M.'s Consul at Taiwan-foo, having heard that the British ship *Loudoun Castle* had been wrecked on the southwest coast of Formosa, and that her captain and ten of her crew had fallen into the hands of the natives, sent his assistant, Mr. PELHAM WARREN, to the scene of the occurrence. From the latter's report of his proceedings there, we see that, at that time, the country south of Pong-lee was not occupied by the Chinese.

Again, in March 1872, having gone to Southern Formosa at the request of the ruler of the eighteen southern tribes, the U. S. Consul for Amoy, in company with Other proofs derived from the experience of the U. S. Consul in 1872.

(s) Commercial Relations of the U.S., 1869.

three U. S. naval officers, had an opportunity to inquire into the murder of the Japanese of Lew Chew by the Boutans. The result of their joint inquiries was that the country from Pong-lee to the south end of the Island, had not yet been occupied by China. [See the Consul's printed Despatch to the U. S. Minister at Peking, dated April 17th 1872.]

Additional proofs from the experience of the Japanese Commissioner in 1874.

When H. I. J. M.'s High Commissioner arrived at Sia-liao on the 22nd of May 1874, he found that not only was southern Aboriginal Formosa not occupied by China,

but that no attempt had ever been made by her to establish any authority there; and that this was the case, is fully confirmed by admissions made by China herself prior to 1874.

Admissions made by Chinese officers, that that country is not part of the Chinese Empire.

In a correspondence with the U. S. Consul for Amoy, while he was conducting the negotiations with the chief of the aborigines in 1867, for the adjustment of the

Rover case, appears the following declaration, emanating from the governor of the Island himself:—"Articles 11 and 13 of the Treaty" (between America and China) provide "that within the jurisdiction of the EMPEROR, either on shore or at sea, any one who "shall molest an American, shall be punished by the civil and military authorities "to the best of their ability; but as, in the *Rover* case, the Americans were not "murdered on Chinese territory or on Chinese seas, but in a region occupied by "savage tribes, relief could not be asked for under the Treaty. Were it in our power "to seize the murderers we would gladly do so, that the Chinese might keep friendly "intercourse with foreigners. But the savage region does not come within the limit "of our jurisdiction, &c., &c.,(t) [see U.S. Commercial Relations, 1871, page 166.] It is true that ultimately the Chinese sent an armed force against the aborigines (September 10th 1867); but not that the Government of the EMPEROR of China had ever reconsidered the statement made by its officers in connection with the relations of China towards the aborigines of Formosa. On the contrary, it plainly appears from the account published of the expedition that it was not intended to enforce the Imperial authority in the aboriginal country, but simply to keep friendship with the United States, as stated in the Governor's despatch, quoted above, and to save herself from the inconvenience of having a large foreign force landed, and perhaps permanently located, on shores so near to Chinese territory. [See U.S. Diplomatic

(t) See note (m), page 5.

Correspondence, 1867-68, China, page 498.] In fact, all that the Chinese General had done was to give countenance to the United States Consul who had gone alone to TAU-KE-TOK's territory for the purpose of investigating the circumstances of the murder of his countrymen, and taking such measures to prevent the recurrence of similar tragedies as the Government of the EMPEROR had declined to take on the ground of want of jurisdiction, and which, in his own judgment, and acting under instructions from the Government of the United States, he thought necessary.

It may be said that the circumstance of the Chinese General Lew being no party to the conference between the aboriginal chief TAU-KE-TOK and the U. S. Consul does not appear to be any disclaimer by Lew of the jurisdiction of his Government; and that on the contrary, if Lew had attempted to negotiate with TAU-KE-TOK upon any other than a purely military question growing out of his expedition he would, so far as he could, have acknowledged that TAU-KE-TOK, and his band were a power capable of treating on equal terms with the Government of China. This proves nothing. The Consul had been invited, by the U. S. Minister at Peking, "in conjunction with the Chinese authorities, to bring the murderers to punishment for what they had done, and to prevent such atrocities, in the future." [Mr. BURLINGAME to the U. S. Consul at Amoy, April 23rd 1867.] General Lew was anxious to negotiate in his own name, and he tried hard to make a treaty with TAU-KE-TOK similar to that concluded by the U. S. Consul. But TAU-KE-TOK declined. The Chinese had sent a deputation to him "to secure for their countrymen the protection promised to foreigners. The Chief answered that he had done nothing, and would do nothing with the Chinese officials."

[See U.S. Diplomatic Correspondence, 1868, Part 1, China, page 509.] It is thus made apparent that the Consul had negotiated independently of the Chinese who had remained mere spectators. After the Consul's return to China, the Viceroy of Fukien, under whose authority the Chinese possessions in Formosa are placed, circulated the following note:—"The United States Consul made a treaty with the savage Chief TAU-KE-TOK respecting the kind of flag to be hereafter used, so that, in future times, if any foreign vessel, being in distress near that place, will show that flag, the savages will do their utmost to render assistance; but if foreigners from merchant vessels, having no business there, land at that spot and cause trouble, and the savages kill

"or ill-treat them, the Chief will not be held responsible for the consequences. The Consul agreed, therefore, that the flag should have reference only to merchant vessels in distress."(u) The same notice was published by the United States in European papers, and by England in a circular addressed to her Consuls in China.

It must be remembered that in no portion of the Viceroy's notification is there any reference made to General Lew, who commanded the escort given to the Consul.(v) And why? certainly because China had no jurisdiction over the tribes with whose chief the compact was made. Had China exercised, or even claimed, jurisdiction, the agreement would have been made by General Lew or one of the Chinese officers of the escort, and not by the U. S. Consul, else would the savages have been reduced to obedience by the Chinese General when they refused to treat with him as the representative of China. The U. S. Consul made his agreement with TAU-KE-TOK in 1867. This agreement was re-affirmed in February 1869, not by a Chinese officer, but by the U. S. Consul. There are two witnesses to the paper, [see U. S. Commercial Relations, 1869, page 92,] one, an Englishman and the other, Mr. MAN, a Chinese officer, who signs himself "Commissioner of Customs for Southern Formosa." Now had China claimed jurisdiction over these tribes, surely such an officer—a Revenue officer who is supposed to know every inch of the territory over which he has jurisdiction—would not have voluntarily witnessed a document wherein all the right of the government he was serving were utterly ignored. And if, in signing the paper, he had done wrong, he would have been reprimanded, whereas he still holds a position of high trust in H. I. C. M.'s Customs' service.

Having, we believe, satisfactorily proved that, previous to May 1874, China never asserted her jurisdiction over Aboriginal Formosa, we will now endeavour to ascertain, whether she was justified at that date to lay any pre-emption claim over that country. To this end let us examine the true political condition of the Formosans, in connection with their relations towards China and the outside world.

What the Formosan tribes are as organized communities.

As a people, the condition of the Formosan Aborigines of the present day is this. It is true that their time is chiefly taken up with hunting, but unlike the American Indians, they do not live a wandering life, and they are far from depending entirely upon the proceeds of the chase for subsistence. Those of the men who, through age or infirmity,

(u) This despatch is dated February 7th 1868.

(v) In speaking of General Lew, the Chinese say that he was ordered by the Viceroy *to follow the Consul in haste*, 隨赴, from 隨, to follow and 赴, to hasten.

become unfit for the arduous exertion of hunting, spend their time in the fields, tilling the ground with the women, and raising millet and other food for the maintenance of the tribe. The women also weave cloth. That portion of their country which is under culture offers some of the richest sights that one can conceive, and the knowledge of agriculture possessed by them does not seem to be inferior to that of any people either in the East or in the West. They live together in villages, in houses built either of split bamboo on the model of those of the Japanese country people, or else of slate in a style peculiar to themselves. They do not live together as a nation united under one king, but each tribe, or collection of tribes, constitutes a free organization, each member thereof contributing to the maintenance of the commonwealth, acting either under a hereditary chief or under officers elected by the people. They believe in a supreme being, and also like, the Chinese, in the occult influences of nature; but they worship no idols. They have now no system of writing, but have a high appreciation of eloquence, prudence and wisdom, which, as a rule, are the only titles among them that render a man eligible to public office. They are by nature exceedingly civil and polite, and would be inclined to hospitably receive strangers had they not been rendered extremely suspicious of them by the harsh and cruel treatment received at the hands of the Chinese since the expulsion of the Dutch from the Island in the 17th century; but for a hundred years past they have strictly and persistently closed their territory to them, even going so far in certain places as to put to death defenceless cast-away. In this condition, with settlements of friendly Hakkas and Peppos in their front, they assert yet for themselves an unlimited independence and absolute sovereignty over the region occupied by them; and this claim will stand good unless China can show that she has satisfactorily established her right, under that law of nations which refers to the contiguity of a semi-civilized power to a country occupied by a wild race, to seize upon the territory and hold it, not only against the natives themselves, but against every one, exactly as the United States claim suzerainty over the Indians in America, and the British over the natives of New Zealand and Australia, by constantly endeavouring to confer the benefits of civilization upon them, as an equivalent for the national independence, of which, against their will, she deprives them.

Are the Formosans justified by natural right in asserting an unlimited independence and absolute sovereignty over the country they inhabit?

China can not give as an excuse for not having occupied Aboriginal Formosa that the inhabitants thereof are not susceptible of civilization.

This, as we have seen, China has not done; but she may claim a justification for her neglect by saying that the Formosans are not susceptible of being governed or civilized and that they must be exterminated. But it is not true that these people are not susceptible of civilization. Not only the experience of late travellers, but that of the

Duteli, who occupied the Island from 1622 to 1662, proves the contrary. [See *t' Verwaarloos de Formosa*, quoted above; also *Relation de la prise de l'Isle de Formosa, &c.*, quoted above, page 31.] Under the Dutch occupation the aborigines knew how to write their own language in foreign characters. This fact is attested by the Dutch authors of works on Formosa, and authenticated by the title-deeds and other documents now found among the descendants of some of the tribes that lived under the Duteli rule. One of these deeds was sent to the U. S. Consul at Amoy, by Dr. MAXWELL of Taiwan-foo, and a photograph of it is given herewith. (w) The perusal of some of the dictionaries of their language will also show that they had otherwise attained a certain degree of civilization under the Dutch, for in them are found names of objects that are in use only among, and words conveying ideas that are common only to civilized people.

[See HAPPART'S Dictionary and *Formosaansche Woorden-Lijst*.] Father DE MAILLA, who visited some of the remaining tribes in 1774, while he was engaged in making his map of Southern Chinese Formosa for the Emperor KANG-HI, gives the following account of them:—"Although these islanders are entirely subject to the Chinese (x) they have still some remains of their ancient government. Each townlet elects three or four of the elders who enjoy the greatest reputation for probity. In virtue of this election, they become the chiefs or judges of the rest of the inhabitants; it is they who constitute the final appeal of all litigants; and if anybody refused to acquiesce in their judgment he would be driven out of the community without any hope of ever being able to re-enter, while no other town would dare to receive him. Their tributes to the Chinese are paid in grain. As regards these tributes, there is in each townlet a Chinaman conversant with the language, who serves as interpreter to the mandarins. These interpreters, who ought to procure the relief of these poor people, are themselves unworthy harpies who prey upon them pitilessly: indeed, they are such petty tyrants that they drive even the patience of the mandarins to the verge of extremity as well as

(w) See Plate IX.

(x) Of course, Père DE MAILLA refers only to the aborigines who dwelt within the limits of the territory known to the Chinese, and of which he made the map. [See Plate IV.]

"that of the islanders, who, however, are compelled to abstain from interfering with them for fear of courting still greater complications. Of twelve townlets which were under Chinese jurisdiction in the south, there now remain but nine; three have rebelled, driven out their interpreters, paid no more tribute to China for three years, and have formed a league with the inhabitants of the eastern portion of the Island. It is a very bad example and will not fail to have its consequences. I mentioned it passingly to the first literary mandarin in Formosa, a Chinese doctor, who had just been made viceroy of the province of Fokien. He replied coldly :—“It is all the worse for those savages, if they insist upon remaining in their savage condition ; we try to turn them into men, and they don't wish it. All the worse for them ! There are malcontents everywhere.”

“But savages though they be, according to certain maxims of the Chinese world, I believe them to be nearer to the true philosophy than a greater number of the most celebrated Chinese sages. One never sees among them, even upon Chinese testimony, either cheating or quarrelling, or robbery or litigation, excepting against the interpreters. Their dealings are equitable, and they are attached to each other : a man will never dare to touch anything you give him, without those who had joined in the labour partaking also the fruits, a fact of which I have had frequent proof myself. They attend to the slightest signal given to them by their commander ; they are circumspect in their words, and upright and pure of heart.” (y)

Of the civilized aboriginal tribes known to the Dutch, but very few remain ; and these few are so changed under the tyrannical rule of the Chinese that they hardly present all those characteristics of the original race described by DE MAILLA. Still they are yet easily distinguishable from the Chinese colonists by a finer appearance, a greater inclination to hospitality and an honesty which is not to be found among the Chinese. They are known by the name of Peppos. Despoiled of their land and reduced to slavery by the Chinese after the conquest by KOXINGA, (z) they gradually left the plains, and took refuge at the foot of, or in the, mountains. There is a large colony of them on the East Coast almost due East from Takao ; and probably many more are scattered about in what is now called Aboriginal Formosa, at points that have not yet been visited by any Western explorer.

(y) Père DE MAILLA, Lettres édifiantes, quoted above, Tome X, pages 265 and 266.

(z) Père DE MAILLA, Lettres édifiantes, quoted above, Tome X, page 262.

BLUNTSCHLI, in his International Law, codified, page 165, says that "the true line of conduct to follow on the part of civilized powers towards uncivilized tribes has already been traced and applied by the Puritans in New England and by WILLIAM PENN in Pennsylvania. They would buy from the Indians the ground they wanted to till, and the ownership of which they wished to transfer to the colonists. When colonization has become possible, and men who have always lived in a civilized state can live in that country with their families, it becomes necessary to protect the colonists, to guarantee to them the undisturbed enjoyment of the soil, and to endeavor to civilize the savages." [Vide VATTEL I. 1.5 § 81. PHILLIMORE, I, 244 and following.] We have seen that not only has China not fulfilled these conditions with the aborigines of that part of Formosa now occupied by Japan, but that the history of her occupation of Western Formosa shows that she has never evinced even the slightest intention of doing so. She has not attempted to explore the country of the aborigines, whose line of coast even is omitted in her charts of the Island, although they were known to those who, before her, exercised political control over a portion of the Island—the Dutch, for instance, [see Plates III. & IV.] and KOXINGA. And by her cruel treatment of the aborigines, she has forever closed the door by which she might ultimately have gained admittance to them to perform among them her civilizing

What China has lost and what Japan has gained. mission. China has thus lighted up a conflagration in that region which threatens the whole world, and which she is unable to extinguish. She has failed to drive the aborigines from the Southern and Eastern Coasts into the mountains of the interior, and they now remain a most cruel pest to all mariners who may be so unfortunate as to be thrown on their shores. Their country, especially the southern part of it, lies directly on one of the principal highways of commerce, and unless they are either pacified or exterminated, there is no hope of ever seeing this state of affairs change; and inasmuch as Japan is the latest sufferer at their hands, she has a perfect right to go and deal with them as she pleases, provided she will conform to the principles of justice and equity which form the basis, not only of international relations, but also of all intercourse with even the most degraded of God's creatures. Until she violates these principles, in her dealings with the Formosans, we do not believe that any one can justly find fault with her.

First.—That China has never had any rights over Aboriginal Formosa.

Second.—That if she ever did have any such rights, they could never have been absolute so long as Aboriginal Formosa remained uncivilized, but were simply conditional and subordinate to her will and ability to perform certain obligations, which she would have contracted by assuming political jurisdiction over the country.

Third.—That the condition of her assuming these rights was that she should lose the same the day she should fail to perform her obligations towards the aborigines, thereby making herself liable to be dispossessed by the legitimate suzerain of all wild and uncultivated lands, viz., the civilized world, exactly as a tenant is ejected by his landlord when he ceases to pay the rent of the premises which he holds from him, or fails to fulfil any other obligation that may be incumbent upon him by the terms of his lease.

Fourth.—That the ejection or dispossession must be made in favor of the first civilized nation that may occupy the vacant land with a view to do there what her predecessor had so flagrantly neglected to do ; and Japan by occupying Aboriginal Formosa and commencing the work of civilizing the inhabitants, has fully established her right over that country.

Should this condition of affairs be a source of anxiety to China, she can but commence negotiations for the acquisition of Aboriginal Formosa, in the same manner as she would for any territory belonging to another power and of which she desired to obtain possession—setting forward certain pretensions founded upon considerations of pure interest which, as seen from the foregoing, Japan is not bound, either in equity or in law, to respect, unless she should find it also to her interest to do so. Whether the payment of an indemnity as the price of the evacuation and cession to China of the territory which Japan has already conquered, and to the possession of which she now has just as good a title as China has to any of her lands, will be the means of settling the question ; or whether some other mode of adjustment not yet openly proposed by either party will be adopted, remains to be seen from Mr. OKUBO's mission. We have carefully read the few despatches which have been exchanged between the Governments of Japan and China on the Formosa question, and we feel quite safe in advancing the opinion that Japan has never intended to bring about complications with China in sending an expedition

to Formosa. The promptness with which her Minister, Mr. YANAGUARA listened to the proposition of an arrangement of the pending difficulties made to General SAIGO, shows that she was never anxious for territorial aggrandisement; and it is likely that, had she had her own choice, she would have preferred that China had undertaken the work of pacification in Aboriginal Formosa which she herself is now carrying on there. She felt that, sooner or latter, this work must be done by some power; and as China neglected to do it, and the task devolved upon her, she accepted it without hesitation. For this she rather deserves the thanks than the suspicions of China. But should China misunderstand the situation, and inconsiderately, breaking off the negotiations which have been opened at her urgent request, attack Japan, she will find the latter ready for her. In the struggle that must follow, our conviction is strong, Japan will prove that she has not degenerated, and that the descendants of those famous warriors whose exploits are recited in the annals of their giant adversary, are yet able to uphold the honor of their country and protect its soil.(aa)

(aa) Histoire Générale de la Chine, ou annales de cet Empire; traduites du Tong-kien-kang-mou, par le feu Père JOSEPH-ANNE-MARIE DE MOYRIAC DE MAILLA, Jésuite François, Missionnaire à Péking, Paris MDCCCLXXIX, Tome Dixième, pages 323 et suivantes.



PLATE I.

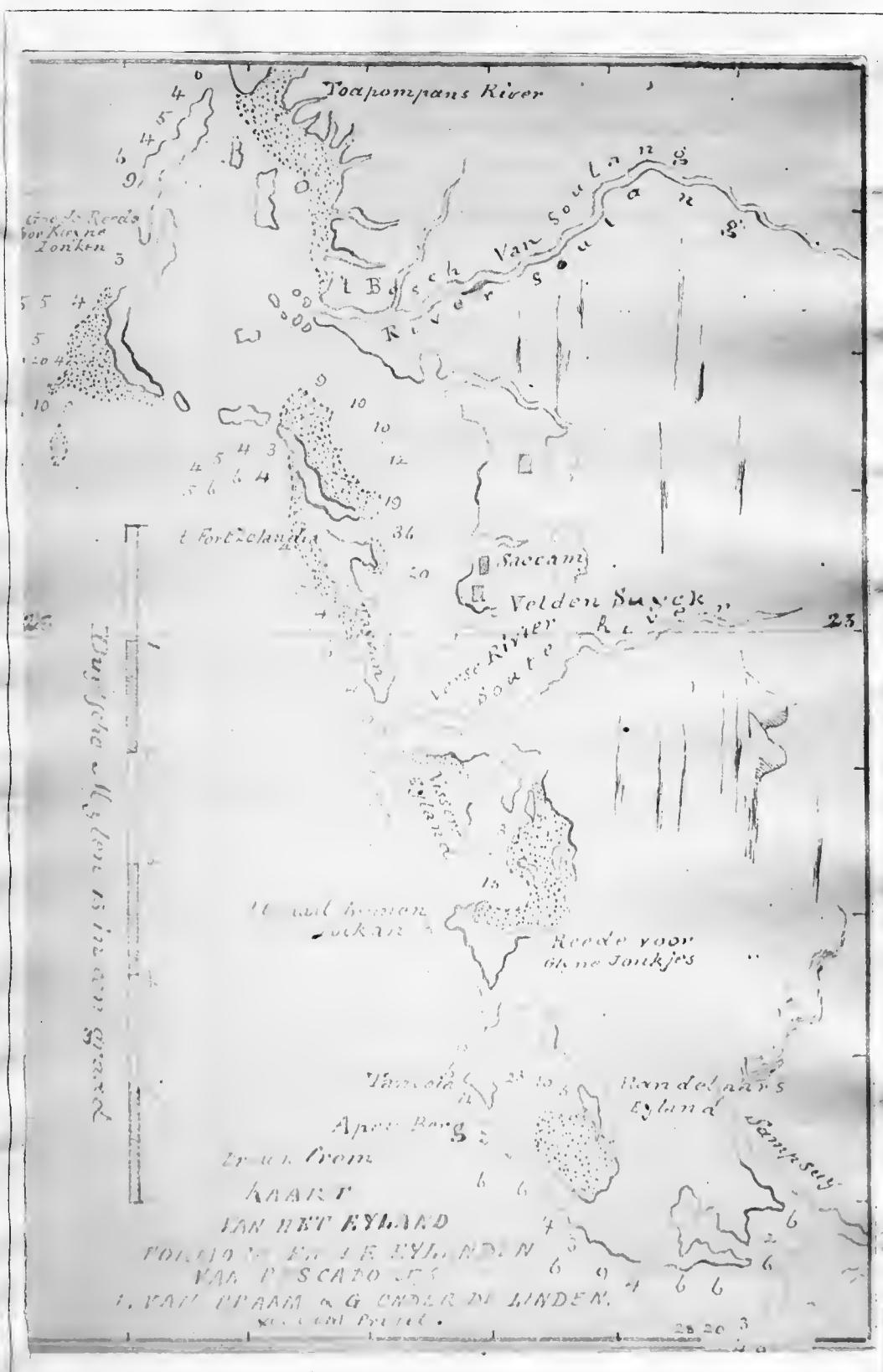


PLATE II.



PLATE III.



PLATE IV.



MAP OF THE JESUITS DE MAILLA & HENDERER, MADE IN 1712, TAKEN FROM THE NOUVEL ATLAS DE LA CHINE
PAR M. D'ANVILLE, LA HAYE, MDCCXXVII.

MDCXXXV.

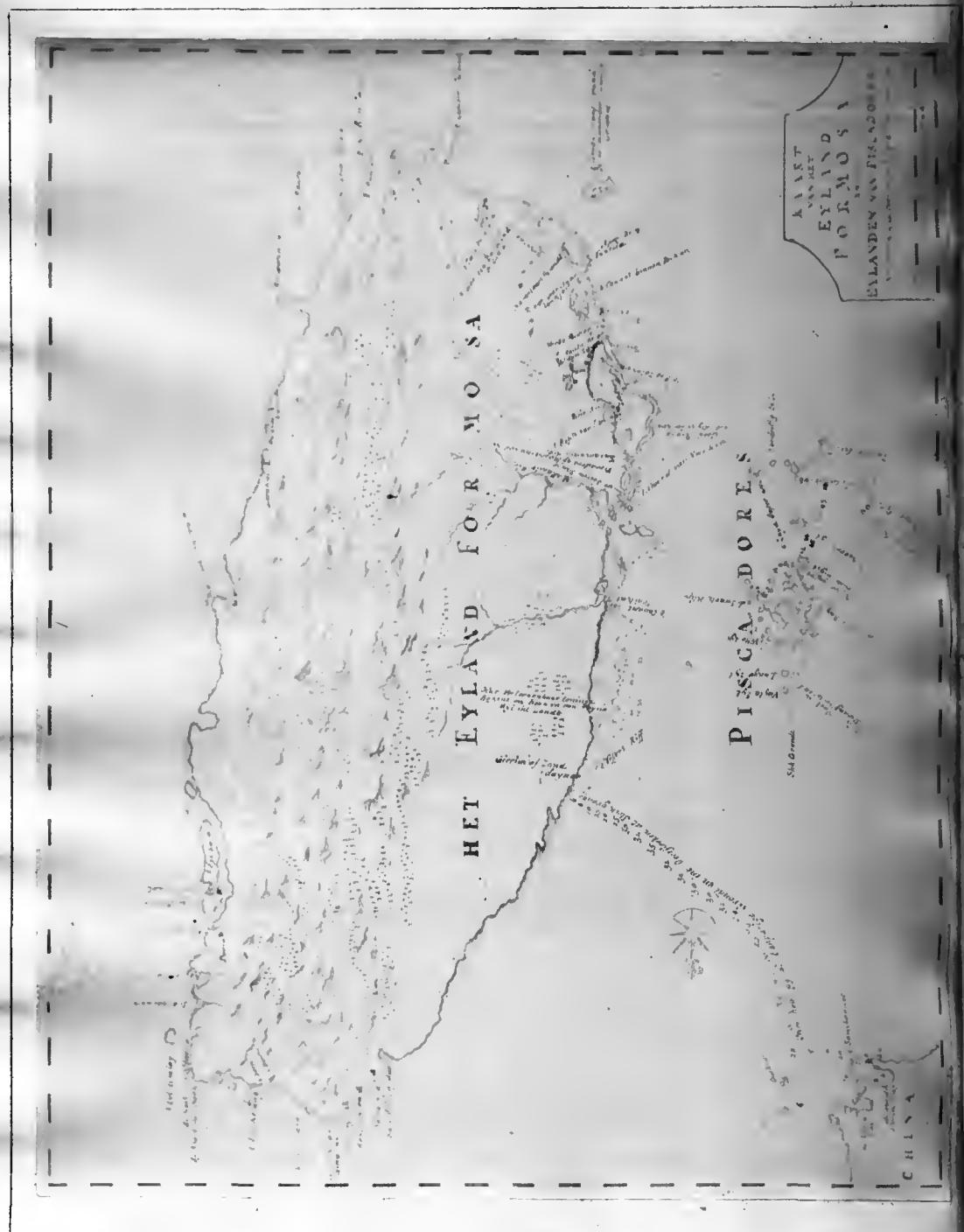
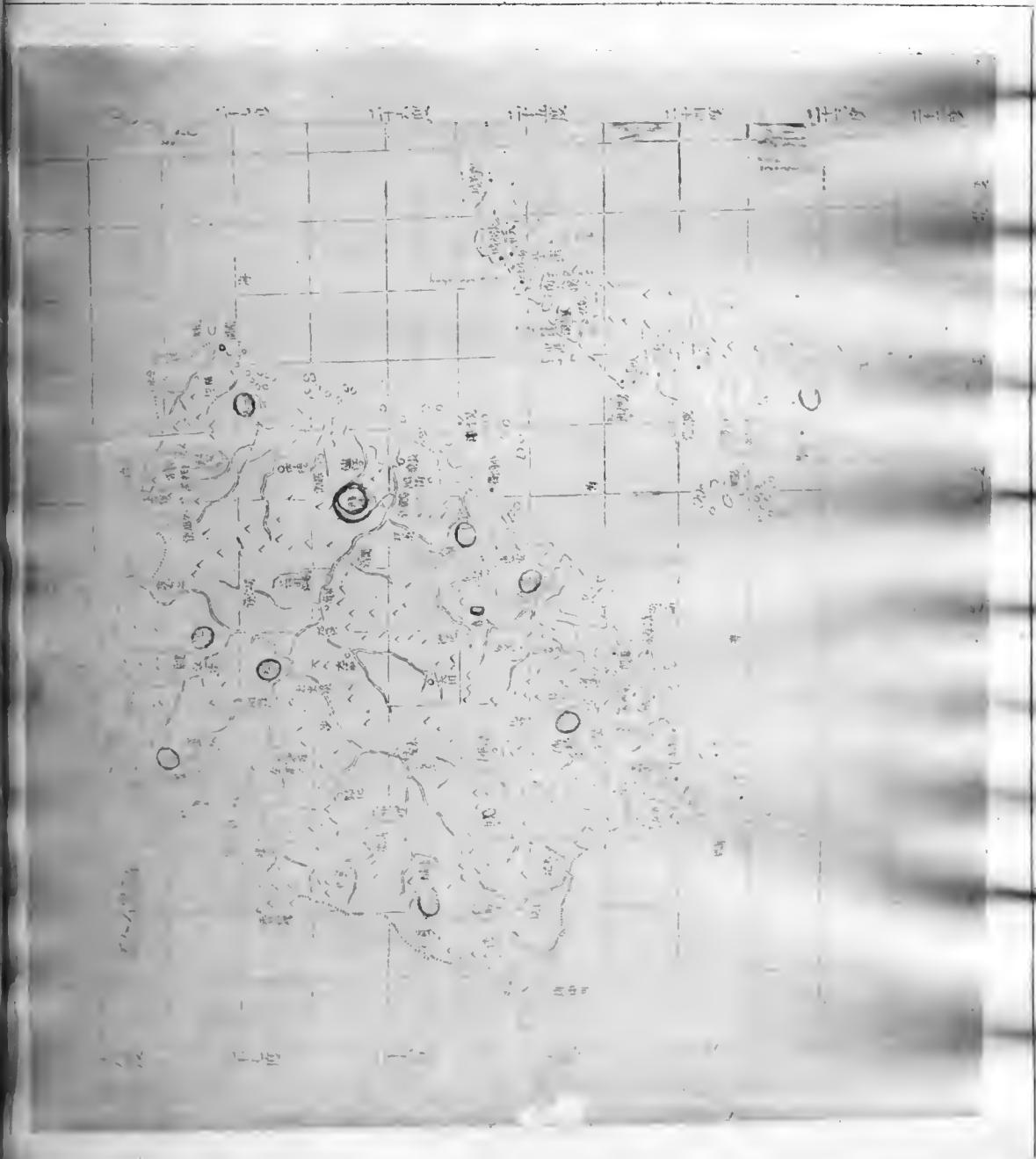


PLATE V.

PLATE VI.

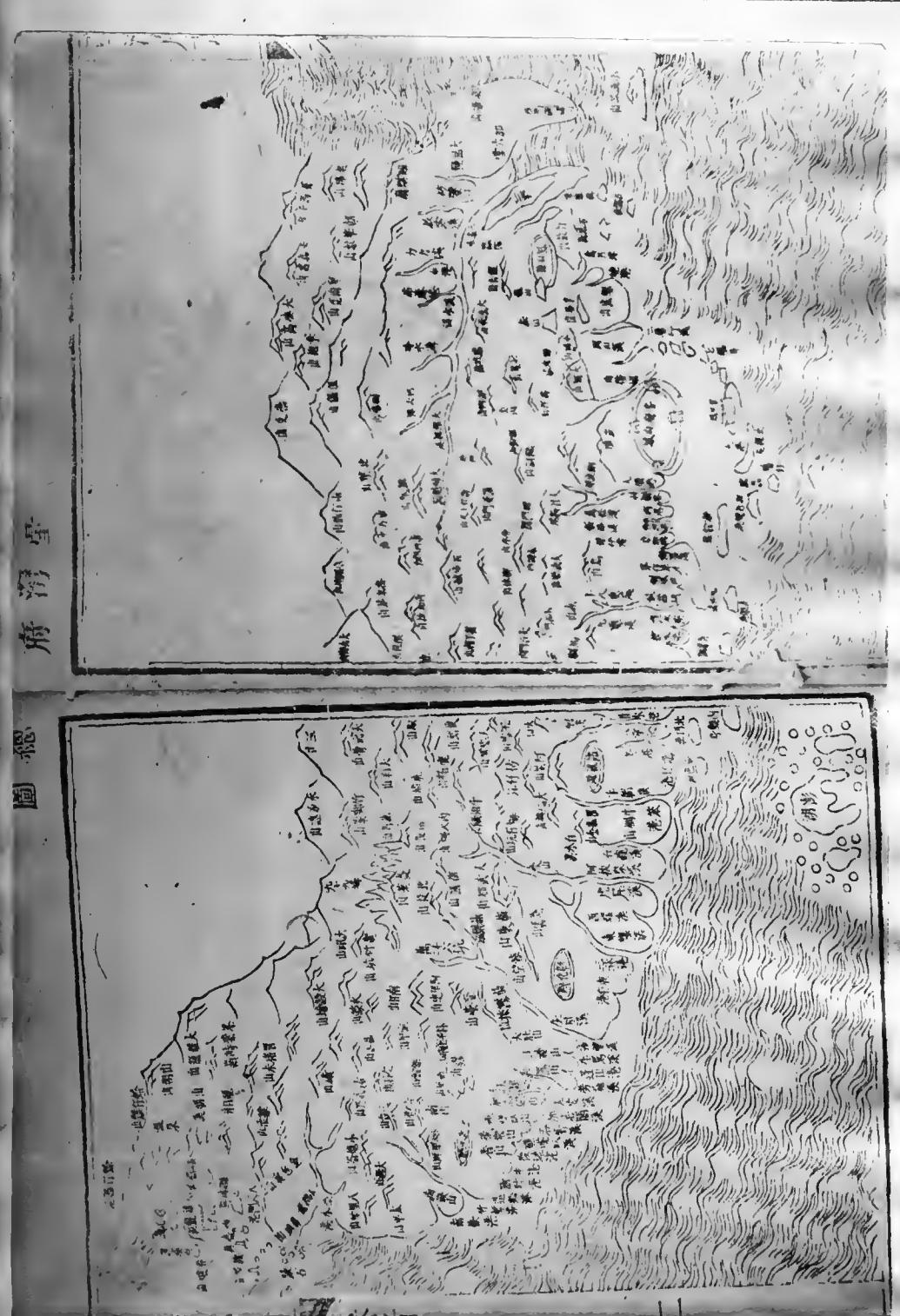


CHANG-SUE-KING, KU-KING, MAP OF FORMOSA, A.D. 1807.

PLATE VII.

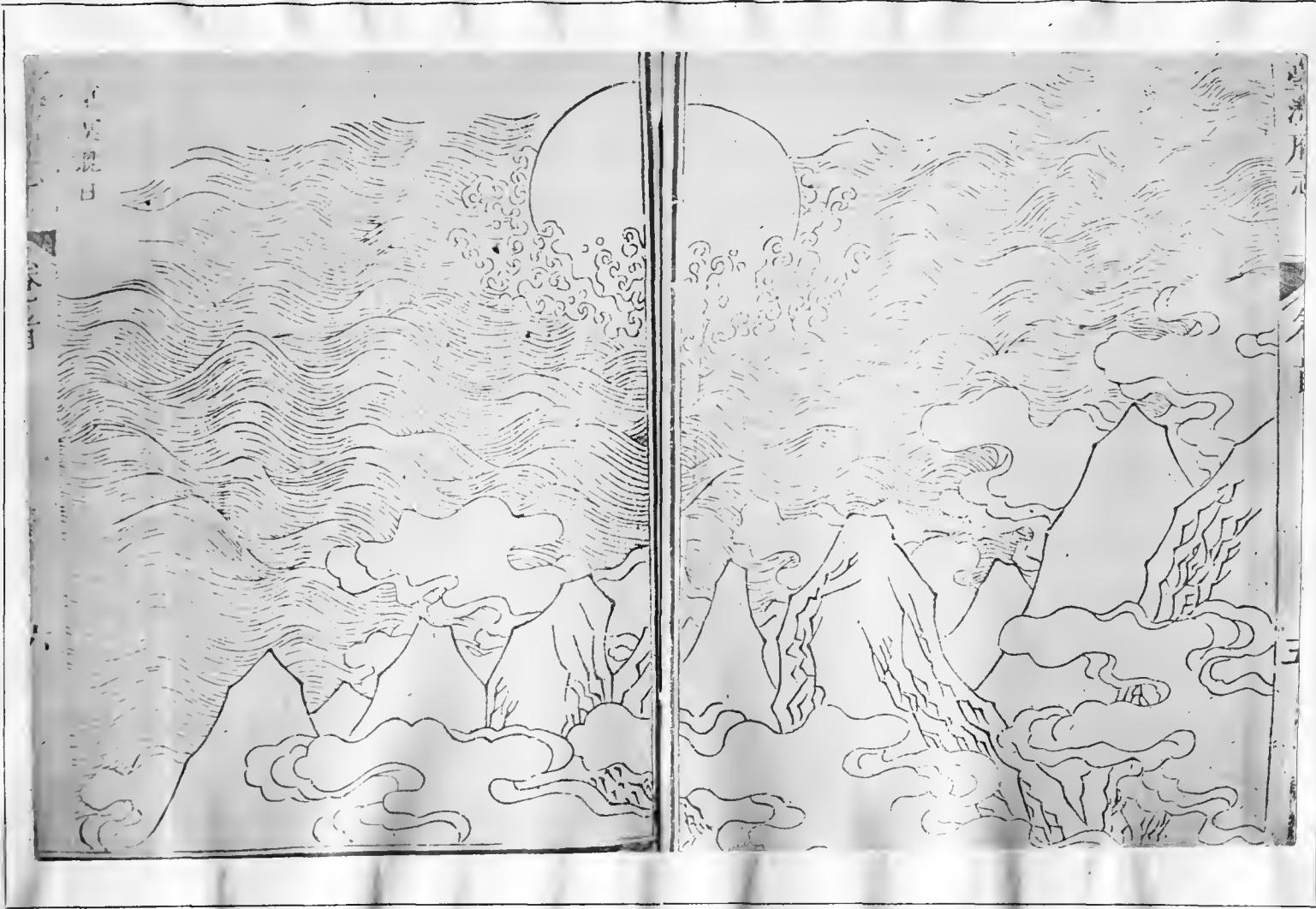
臺灣府 漢文

圖



MAP OF CHINESE FORMOSA AS TAKEN FROM THE TAIWAN-TZU.

PLATE VIII.



THE RISING OF THE SUN IN THE EASTERN OCEAN (EASTERN FORMOSA), TAKEN FROM THE TAIWAN-TZU.

ngat

lidiy mabano ihat in ma. hato

hukukadong kum. ihat hadikamokiong min. atikigd

meilang tao ~~or~~ kimo matik tick obiang-kedam nul. to de

protege ni kathu hata onatik tick lecamayek wakirang

any kising hin gaih toting? go to horach nul. hukukadong
kung to kung tom emah-ma kum. ihat n. m. as. si. tao

hukukadong kung ihat n. m. matik tick hukukadong

PLATE IX.